1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1



technique included blackmail. Rickety boat-bridges served a dozen of the riverain towns. Street lighting consisted, at the best, of a few battered oil-lamps. Water was supplied by donkey-borne waterskins from the river, or from polluted wells in private courtyards; only in Baghdad was a single quarter of the town furnished by pipes with silt-laden untreated water. Municipal street-sweepers maintained some appearance of decency in the main lanes and bazaars, while filth and stenches abounded in the rest. Every town and larger village had cemeteries in its midst or on its fringes. Khans for caravans or wayfarers were found everywhere; hotels approaching the lowest European standard existed only in Baghdad.

Municipal administration was entrusted, save in unorganized villages, to a Mayor and his council. These functionaries, elected by procedures which could amount to Government nomination, enjoyed some local prestige; but their powers in practice were limited so rigidly that the local Governor in fact controlled all projects and all expenditure. Baghdad in the 'nineties was divided into three *baladiyas*, two for the left bank and one for the right. The Mayor was a member or nominee of one of its leading families or, rarely, a Government official. Municipal law was not inadequate, the code of taxation and procedure meticulous, its sphere of nominal activity reasonable. But in practice these administrations were corrupt and futile, and effective chiefly in providing a salary for a city notable and free servants for the local Governor. Nevertheless, pride of city was not lacking and schemes of town improvement were popular topics throughout decades of inactivity.

The picture of urban society of the period must embrace varying scenes. Baṣra with its miles of date gardens and network of tidal creeks, the activity of its riverain suburb—the sole seaport of 'Iraq—its daily contacts with Najd and Muḥammara, its rich garden-owning notables, its cosmopolitan merchants and agents, had a character unique in 'Iraq. Of the other towns of Baṣra sanjaq, Qurna was tribe-dominated, the growing village of Abu al-Khaṣib non-tribal, and Zubayr a desert-fringe town ruled by a hereditary Shaykh. Among Baṣra's leading families were those of the Naqib, and the houses of Basha'yan, Mandil, and Ṣani'.

Baghdad city with a mainly Sunni right bank and an all-Shi'i and largely Persian left, and its important suburbs of Kadhimiya, Mu'adhdham, and Qarara formed by far the greatest commercial centre in the wilayas. It was industrially important, administratively and militarily dominant. The city was mean, without modern improvements, without protection against river floods; it was adorned only by two or three monuments and mosques of interest and by the great shrine of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gaylani. With

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1



652 moment when the public of a new State would hope for eager development. Hospitals and dispensaries must, for the time, be barely maintained: schools could be only slightly increased, secondary and technical education could expand far less than the public desire and need indicated. The Ministry of Health and Education was divided into two, that of Health later to become a mere Department of Interior. Few public works, it was evident, could be attempted; roads must remain rough unsurfaced tracks. The Agricultural Department could but continue its work of research and demonstration upon a minor scale, that of Irrigation must be content with maintenance and minor works.

631 In the liwās,[1] the alterations from Turkish administrative units and their grouping which had been made in the period from 1917 to 1920 were gradually reintroduced. The status of Sulaymaniya, as will be seen, varied from month to month. Kut, detached from Baghdad, became a liwā early in 1922. Arbil, a sub-liwā of Kirkuk in 1921, was separated from it in 1923. Diwaniya broke off from Hilla. No more was heard of Baṣra separatism. The Divisional Councils of pre-insurrection days were dead; the Turkish 'Administrative Councils' of officials and notables returned to life at each liwā and qadhā. 'Iraqi administrative officials, Mutaṣarrifs and Qa'immaqams, set to work amicably in most areas with their British colleagues, who, almost to a man, loyally supported the new régime; but in the provinces, as in the central Government, the difficulties of divided control were soon, though not everywhere, to manifest themselves.

632 In the municipalities, a number of the services installed by the British Army were passed over to the Mayors and their Councils. The latter from early in 1922 were no longer nominated but once again chosen by election under the reintroduced Turkish regulations. Municipal pride developed, and signs of keen local initiative —cramped, unfortunately, by poverty—were apparent in the three 204 larger and many smaller towns. Newspapers, all privately owned save at Kirkuk and Sulaymaniya, began to multiply; and an 'Iraq 747 *Government Gazette* came into being. Literary and charitable 814 institutions revived or came to birth, designed not least to combat

[1] The British Administrative Inspectors in liwās or in the Ministry of Interior, early in 1923, were: C. J. Edmonds, G. V. B. Gillan, C. C. Aston,* S. G. C. Murray, H. M. Flaxman, E. C. H. Alban,* W. A. Lyon,* A. F. Miller,* E. S. Berry,* L. Kettlewell, S. E. Hedgcock, H. C. Pulley, R. E. Alderman,* W. C. F. A. Wilson,* L. M. Yetts, G. C. Kitching,* J. F. D. Jeffreys, L. W. Reed, S. H. Longrigg, A. H. Ditchburn,* H. I. Lloyd,* and R. F. Jardine.*

Those marked * were still so employed in 1927, with the addition of C. Grice, A. J. B. Chapman, J. B. Glubb (p. 291). Gillan, Murray, Flaxman, Kettlewell, Reed, and Jeffreys had left 'Iraq, Pulley had died, and Longrigg and Hedgcock had moved to Finance. Thereafter no more Administrative Inspectors were recruited, except R. S. Stafford (1928–33), from the Sudan.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1



jects for which local pride was clamouring. Municipal administration was restored to the Turkish pattern of an elected Council and a nominated Mayor, but with the abolition of many of the old abuses and sinecures. As modern and exact cadastral town plans were prepared for all towns and many villages, largely based on specialized air photography, property rights were better established, with good effect on urban enterprise.

Educational and medical services were well conceived, and showed substantial advance on Turkish levels. They felt their way haltingly from the capital and cities to the villages, but were cramped as ever by shortage of funds and of trained teachers and practitioners. Over educational policy there was conflict of views between those, including A. L. F. Smith the British adviser, who felt that teaching must above all be sound and based on moral values, and those to whom more and more schools, however staffed and with whatever standards, were the panacea for backwardness. If it remained, indeed, a generation later, a reproach of the 'Iraqi intelligentsia against the British that too little was done during this decade for education, the defence must be that there could be small value in mass-produced literacy, even if money, buildings, equipment, and teachers had been available, which they were not. Meanwhile the Education Ministry was the first to be by 1923 all-'Iraqi in executive authority. Government primary schools multiplied from less than 100 to more than 200. Graduations from the few secondary schools, in the three cities, began in 1924. Evening classes were formed for the training of secondary-school teachers—the first phase of the later Higher Training College. Primary-school Teachers' Training Colleges were maintained in Baghdad for men and separately for women: in the former some students were specially trained for teaching in rural schools, but to a standard later found inadequate. There was as yet no girls' secondary education, other than private. Government boys' secondary schools were few; post-primary technical schools existed at Baghdad and Mosul only. An American secondary school for boys was opened, under Dr. Colin Staudt, in 1921, another for girls in 1925, both in Baghdad; the former, like Van Ess's school at Baṣra, was an enterprise of the Dutch Reformed Church, the latter of the United Mission of Mesopotamia. The College of Al al-Bayt, to which the King was devoted and for which the Awqaf Ministry found funds, offered a course only in Islamic theology. The Law School flourished. The immense archaeological wealth of 'Iraq was not neglected. Excavation was carried out in 1922 and later by British and American learned bodies at Ur, at Kish, and at Tirkalan near Kirkuk. The finds of the German excavations at Babylon were distributed. The Baghdad Museum,

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1



goods from the trans-'Iraq route to Muḥammara and the new Persian port of Bandar Shahpur all contributed to lessen the long-profitable transit trade, whose sentence of extinction could not, it seemed, be long delayed unless the Mediterranean route across Syria could be developed; and of this there were hopeful signs.

Banking continued in the hands of local *ṣarrafs* and the three British Banks: the Ottoman, Eastern, and Imperial Bank of Persia. The adoption of the decimal system was officially proclaimed in 1931, though twenty years later the *ḥuqqa*, the *taghar*, the *mann*, and the *dhira'* were still widely in use. Wholesale and retail trade followed familiar channels, with British firms predominating in the foreign element; 30 per cent. of the country's imports were of United Kingdom origin, though neither in this nor in any commercial operation did the Mandatary claim advantage over competitors. Imported goods found favour less by quality than by cheapness; this allowed Japanese competition for the first time to intrude, especially in cheap silk and cotton textiles. Woollen goods and steel came from Belgium, sugar from Holland, vehicles from America, wood from Scandinavia and Rumania, rice and tea from India, and most of the rest, notably cotton textiles, pumps and machinery, from Great Britain. The exports, as ever, were of dates, grain, hides and skins, wool, intestines, liquorice, and live animals. These at lowered prices held their own satisfactorily during the period of depression. Monetary conditions in Europe led, after 1930, to export of gold from 'Iraq, giving a temporary stimulus to its economy.

Until the hard times of 1929 to 1932, which they survived creditably, municipal development and the public services were expanding. A Municipal Law of 1929 superseded the Turkish regulations, municipal revenues were overhauled, and the hundred townships of every size and degree pursued their work of street improvement, bridge building, and provision of gardens, electric power plants, and sometimes officials' houses. In the major towns a period of rapid suburban development began, absorbing capital used hitherto in the transit trade. A 'New Baghdad' was planned on the right bank of the Tigris. The concession given in 1912 for electric power was amended and confirmed, after years of negotiation, in favour of the Baghdad Power and Light Company, and a new power-house came into operation; the tramway project was abandoned. Tolerable hotels appeared in the three cities and in Kirkuk, supplemented by Railway rest-houses at smaller towns. The technique of brick-making, the methods in the building industry, the types of modern dwelling-house, domestic equipment, the scale and resources of the shops: all these advanced incomparably beyond Ottoman standards. European dress was

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1



conditions in the future, the rate could rise to two percent per annum or even higher within a comparatively short period. Obviously this possibility will have to be borne in mind in planning the development of social services such as education and housing. It also has important implications in agriculture. As the limited supply of water is more fully utilized, most of the increase in population may ultimately have to be absorbed in nonagricultural pursuits, unless water is used much more efficiently than it is now.

As the standard of social services such as health and education is higher in the cities and the opportunities for employment are more varied, the distinction between urban and rural population is an important one in considering the age and sex distribution of the people, their occupations and their standard of living. About 550,000 people live in the municipality of Baghdad, another 300,000 in the next three largest cities of Mosul, Basra and Kirkuk and some 350,000 in other towns having a population of over 15,000. Thus about 1.2 million people or a quarter of the population live in sizeable urban communities. In addition, there are about a hundred smaller municipalities having an aggregate population of under half a million. These towns are usually the administrative and market centers of the minor political subdivisions such as *qadhas* and *nahiyas* and many of them are little more than large villages; in many respects they form a semirural category intermediate between the larger towns and the villages.

There has been a strong migration from the country to the cities in recent years, particularly during the last war. The most striking examples of this can be seen in Baghdad and Basra where many thousands of "squatters" from Amara province are crowded together in makeshift huts under extremely unhygienic conditions. The peculiarly adverse conditions of life in Amara have made that province the principal source of migrants to the large cities and, indeed, to most parts of the country, but there has evidently been a substantial movement from the rural areas in general. As it is prima facie likely that these migrants would consist principally of young adults or adolescents, especially men, it is not surprising to find that the census shows a much higher proportion of the very young (under 10) and the old (over 50) in the rural areas, the disparity being even more marked among men than among